

no. in M. C. 231
Class M 2666

Miss Rutherford's SCRAP BOOK

Valuable Information About the South

EFFORTS MADE FOR PEACE WHY FAILURE?



MILDRED LEWIS RUTHERFORD
ATHENS, GEORGIA
Editor and Publisher

Miss Rutherford's Scrap Book

Ten Issues a Year, \$2.50.

Back volumes will be supplied to new subscribers.

Advertisements solicited: 1 inch, \$2.00; 1/2 page, \$5.00; 1 page, \$10.00.

LEADING TOPICS FOR THE TEN VOLUMES FOR 1923

JANUARY—*The Causes* that led to the War between the States.

FEBRUARY—Was *Secession* Rebellion?

MARCH—Formation of *The Southern Confederacy*.

APRIL—Efforts for *Peace*. Why failure?

MAY—Who was *Responsible for War*?

JUNE—Was *Coercion* Constitutional?

JULY—Army and Navy Organized—Leaders.

AUGUST—Woman's Work in the War between the States.

SEPTEMBER—Surgeons and Chaplains.

OCTOBER—Battles fought and Leaders.

The Surrender and Results.

ATTENTION!

Note carefully the advertisements. Only those that can be heartily endorsed will be inserted. Any orders given through these advertisements give credit, please, to SCRAP BOOK.

DON'TS OF HISTORY

Don't say Civil War, but War *between the States*.

Don't say Lost Cause—*our Cause was never lost*.

Don't in sport call yourself a rebel—*the North rebelled against the Constitution, not the South*.

Don't endorse a textbook before you read it or are capable of passing judgment upon it.

Don't argue about Southern history unless you are well posted as to facts and statistics.

Don't be ashamed to acknowledge you are wrong.

Don't endorse an encyclopedia before you see if it is just to the South.

Don't say *Jeff Davis*, it sounds disrespectful.

Don't say you believe the South was right; say *you know she was right*.

Why Did All Peace Efforts Fail?

It has been shown in Vol. I. that the causes were many that forced the Southern States to secede. In Vol. II. it has been shown that the election of Abraham Lincoln without an electoral vote from the South caused the secession of seven states, and President Lincoln's coercion policy resulted in the secession of four more states and the attempt of two others to secede, and if coercion be used five other states desired also to secede.

In Vol. III. has been shown the *Formation of the Confederate Government* with no desire for war but simply to secure a government by the Constitution where the rights of Southern States would be protected and the Union preserved.

When Southern and Northern statesmen realized that measures were being taken by the Republican party, dominated by abolition fanatics, to dissolve the Union, they attempted to bring about a peaceful settlement of all questions tending to disunion.

Schaffner in his "*Secession War*" alludes to the spirit of the South regarding this question. There was a determination to withdraw from the Union in order to allow amendments to the Constitution to be made guaranteeing just rights. If the Northern states would not make these amendments, then they must secure them by a Government of their own.

When Congress met in December, 1860, resolution after resolution was offered by Southern members looking to peace, but every resolution was rejected by the House of Representatives. The Republican party was in the majority.

Finally, John Jordan Crittenden, of Kentucky, proposed a Compromise which if it had been accepted would have made secession unnecessary and there would have been no war.

Why was this compromise rejected?

CRITTENDEN RESOLUTIONS

LORD CHARNWOOD, in his "*Life of Lincoln*," says:

"Then was offered in the Senate the celebrated 'Crittenden Compromise,' yielding all that the North demanded in regard to exclusion of slavery from the Territories, but insisting that the Constitution be respected as to fugitive slaves, and that the Constitution be maintained and its provision be kept as adjudicated by the Supreme Court of the land. The South made no new request; it went not outside of the Constitution. It rested its case on the Constitution and on its interpretation by the highest court of the land. It was strictly loyal to the Constitution.

"Why was the Crittenden Compromise rejected?' Because Mr. Lincoln willed it. He wrote letters to his party leaders to defeat

it. He said 'he had no compromises to make with the South.' The idea was that he had triumphed and that triumph meant no surrender in any respect of the new policies.

"It was a tragic day when the Crittenden Compromise was defeated. Not a single Republican voted for it."

The Crittenden Resolutions was a most generous proposition from the South to allow out of the 1,200,000 square miles of territory acquired by conquest and purchase, 900,000 square miles for free territory and the remaining 300,000 square miles to be free or slave as each new state formed might choose, and this, too, when Southern prowess had largely gained the territory. These resolutions in the interest of peace were offered by Northern and Southern Democrats. Lincoln notified all Republican states through Senators Harlan and Zach Chandler to vote against these resolutions. Had he not done this they would have passed. Unjust as they were to the South, the South would have accepted them, and Thurlow Weed and Seward would have seen that they were passed by the North. It was Lincoln's fault they were rejected. George Lunt said Lincoln later acknowledged that he regretted this.

Again LORD CHARNWOOD said:

"Senator Chandler, of Michigan, had telegraphed to the Governor of Michigan to send delegates to the Peace Congress, 'but to send stiff-necked men or none—for without a little blood letting the Union will not be worth saving.'"

GEORGE LUNT, in his "*Origin of the Late War*," p. 423, says:

"The propositions of the Peace Conference evidently formed a sound basis for settlement of the controversy. These resolutions were introduced by Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, and had they been adopted, they would have saved the country from its coming trials. On the committee of thirteen reporting these resolutions were Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi; Mr. Hunter, of Virginia; Robert Toombs, of Georgia; five from slave States—eight from free states. General Toombs reported to his constituents in Georgia that the Black Republicans solidly voted against the resolutions. Mr. Douglas, in the Senate, said: 'Every member from the South including *Messrs. Davis and Toombs*, from the Cotton States, expressed a willingness to accept the resolutions as a final settlement of the controversy. Hence the responsibility of our disagreement, and the only difficulty in the way of an amicable adjustment is with the Republican party.' (See *Congressional Globe, Appendix 1800-61*, p. 41).

"Mr. Toombs, in the Senate, said there were some conditions he would prefer, but for the sake of peace—permanent peace—he would accept them.

"Mr. Pugh, of Ohio, said he had heard the senator from Mississippi (afterwards President Davis) before leaving the Senate Chamber say he would accept it to maintain the Union.

There is no doubt but that a two-thirds vote would have saved the Union."

When it came to a final vote *every Republican voted against them except Mr. Seward who refused to vote at all*. The resolutions were lost by a vote of 20 to 19. How could peace have been brought about?

THE REJECTION of the Crittenden Resolutions created a crisis:

"The Southern leaders then called a conference. What was to be done? All their proposals of compromise, looking to peace, tranquility, security, within the Union, had failed. They asked each other: 'What is the purpose of the anti-South party? What means the rejection of our compromises? What means this secession from the Constitution? This refusal to abide by the decisions of the United States Supreme Court? What means Mr. Lincoln's attitude in opposing the Crittenden Compromise?'

Despairing of their rights within the Union, the Southern leaders advised the Southern States to throw themselves back on their reserved rights and withdraw from the Union. But it was too late. It could have been done in 1850, but not in 1861. From 1850 to 1860 the North had educated the people of the North out of the Jefferson theory of State rights."—*George Lunt*.

SECOND PEACE CONFERENCE

A second effort to have peace was by a *Peace Conference* at Washington, D. C., February 4th, 1860, Ex-President John Tyler, presiding. The conference was called by Virginia, as she had not seceded when the seven states formed a Confederacy.

LORD CHARNWOOD, in his "*Life of Lincoln*," again says:

"Twenty-one states responded to the call. The venerable John Tyler, ex-President of the United States, was chosen president. They met in Washington on February 4, 1861. Salmon P. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury under the new administration, was there as the representative of Mr. Lincoln and the new victorious party. His speech destroyed all hope of any reconciliation. He refused all compromises, and said Northern states would never fulfill that part of the Constitution in regard to fugitive slaves, and that the decision of the Supreme Court would not be abided. The failure of this conference was a great disappointment, especially to Virginia. Mr. Lincoln took the same stand as he did regarding the Crittenden Compromise."

JUDGE SALMON P. CHASE in Peace Congress:

"I must tell you further that under no inducements whatever will we consent to surrender a principle which we believe to be sound, and so important as that of restricting slavery within state limits."

And again he said:

"The people of the free states who believe that slavery is wrong cannot and will not aid in returning runaway slaves and the law becomes a dead letter."

SECRETARY CHASE announced that:

"The Republican party would concede nothing in regard to slave extension in the Territories, and the Northern states would never fulfill their Constitutional obligations." (There was nothing to do but adjourn).

Had Mr. Lincoln listened to Virginia's plea for peace all would have been well.

THE THIRD EFFORT AT PEACE

The first thing the Confederacy did after organization was to send Martin J. Crawford, of Georgia, and John Forsyth, of Alabama, and A. B. Roman, of Louisiana, as commissioners to Washington. They arrived there March 5, the day after Lincoln was inaugurated. Their mission was one of peace. All states had held to the doctrine of the right of peaceful withdrawal up to 1850.

A message was given to these commissioners from President, Congress and people of the Confederate States:

"The undersigned are instructed to make to the Government of the United States overtures for the opening of negotiations, assuring the Government of the United States that the President, Congress, and people of the Confederate States earnestly desire *a peaceful solution of these great questions*; that it is neither their interest nor their wish to make any demand which is not founded in strictest justice, nor do any act to injure their late Confederates."

"The commissioners sent at once their communication to Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, asking for a 'speedy adjustment of all questions growing out of the political separation, upon terms of amity and good will.' " There was no defiance in their communication or in their bearing. It was a mission for peace. The whole conduct of our commissioners was marked with perfect frankness.

How were they received? "They were met with equivocation," says Alexander H. Stephens, "a duplicity and deceit which, taken altogether, is without a parallel in modern times."

The commissioners were kept in "watchful waiting" for twenty-three days, receiving no answer to their communication. But an indirect and informal answer was in time given in this way: Justice John A. Campbell, of Alabama, a member of the United States Supreme Court, was selected as an intermediary. Mr. Seward assured Justice Campbell that he was for *Peace* and that *Fort Sumter would be evacuated in ten days*—even before a letter could go from Washington to Montgomery. Justice Campbell acted on this statement and assurance from Seward, and advised the commissioners to be patient—and they were, remaining in the attitude of patient waiting.

Time was passing and the "watchful waiting" so prolonged, that

Gen. Beauregard telegraphed the commissioners that Fort Sumter had not been evacuated, but on the other hand Gen. Anderson was busily making repairs. So Judge Campbell held another interview with Seward, who assured him the failure to evacuate was not "the result of bad faith" and graciously explained away the delay. This renewed assurance was communicated to Mr. Davis by the commissioners.

On April 7, as a relief squadron had left New York, Judge Campbell again addressed a note to Seward. He replied: "Faith as to Sumter fully kept. Wait and see." The fleet had put to sea when his reply was made, and with instructions to provision and reinforce Fort Sumter, "peacefully," if permitted; "otherwise by force."

Now this delay, this deception was injurious to the Confederate government which thought Lincoln and Seward sincere in their promises.

When the duplicity and perfidy dawned upon Mr. Davis he directed Gen. Beauregard to demand the surrender of Fort Sumter. On Gen. Anderson's refusal, the Confederates on April 12, 1861, fired upon Fort Sumter. The fire was returned.

Under these circumstances who struck the first blow, or who fired the first shot? Abraham Lincoln or Jefferson Davis?

The sailing of the fleet, the order to reinforce Maj. Anderson, "peacefully," if permitted; "otherwise by force," was issued some time before Mr. Davis ordered Beauregard to demand the surrender of Maj. Anderson. (*"Truth of the War Conspiracy of 1861"*).

"Hallam in his Constitutional History of England, vol. 11, page 219, maintains that the aggressor in war—"that is, he who begins it, is not the first who uses force, but the first who renders force necessary." Was not the war inaugurated, though no blow had been struck, when the hostile fleet, styled the relief squadron, with a heavy force and armament set out from New York and Norfolk to reinforce Fort Sumter, "peacefully," if permitted; "otherwise by force?" It certainly was.

That which Alexander H. Stephens described as "an equivocation, a duplicity, a craft and deceit which taken altogether, is without a parallel in modern times."

The conduct of the Confederate commissioners was that of absolute frankness. The wonder is that they and Mr. Davis should have been deceived—and thus entrapped.

Secession was intended as a peace measure.

Mr. Lincoln really precipitated the crisis when he wrote letters to Republican members of Congress in December of 1860 to defeat all compromises, that he had none to make with the South—for the South could not keep an army in the field for three months as the negroes

would rise up and force Southern soldiers home to protect their wives and children.

It was not until Lincoln did this that our Southern leaders advised our people to seek peace and tranquility in secession. "How shall the South be saved?" our leaders asked in conference. How shall we construe all this secession from the Constitution? This repudiation of the Supreme Court? This nullification by fifteen Northern states? This canonization of John Brown? What means this defeat of all our offers for compromise—our overtures for peace? Lincoln's blow precipitated secession, as his Fort Sumter policy fired the first gun." (JAMES CALLAWAY, *Macon Telegraph*).

THE FOURTH EFFORT FOR PEACE

On February 13, 1861, Virginia held her State Convention. Several secession resolutions were voted down. Virginia stood for Constitutional Union.

Lincoln had promised "peace and union." They trusted Lincoln's word. Lincoln feared to attend this convention which was mainly to hear from him in person. He tried to dissolve the convention, but failed. Then he and Seward selected Allan B. Magruder, Judge Advocate of the U. S. Naval Court Martial, to go to Richmond to urge George W. Summers to come to Washington *at once* to confer with them. If Summers could not come, then to select some strong Union man to come in his place.

Magruder went to Richmond, saw Summers who could not leave the convention because he was a delegate, but he advised that they choose John B. Baldwin to go in his stead. Baldwin agreed to go and he and Lincoln were in secret conference all of Thursday, 14th. Baldwin advised Lincoln to call a conference of delegates from all of the states, and to issue at once a *Peaceful Union Proclamation giving official assurance that he (Lincoln) desired peace.*

Had Lincoln heeded this advice all would have been well. His answer was, "*I fear it is too late.*" Lincoln knew it was too late for he had already sent four secret expeditions to declare war—three to Fort Sumter and one to Fort Pickens.

Lincoln urged Baldwin to adjourn that convention *sine die*, as it was a standing menace to him.

Baldwin refused to have the convention adjourned, and said, "If a gun is fired, Virginia will secede in forty-eight hours."

Nothing further could be had from Lincoln and Baldwin left the room. He found "seven Governors" waiting for the President. These were the ones urging Lincoln to use force.

Lincoln called an extra session of Congress, "*but cunningly schemed,*" to have it postponed eighty days, "as he could not call Congress

in ten days." Without the consent of Congress he had called an army at Washington in less than ten days. Just as soon as the army was called to coerce the seceding States, Virginia seceded. (*Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1875).

Now when the South felt war was inevitable, unprepared as she was, she made the bravest fight ever made by any band of heroic men.

For a small band of 600,000 men to hold at bay 2,850,000 men four years is a miracle of war.

Hear the testimony of the North. In "*Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*," Gen. Don Carlos Buell says:

"It required a naval fleet and 15,000 troops to advance against a weak fort, manned by less than 100 men at Fort Henry; it took 35,000 men with naval co-operation to overcome 12,000 at Fort Donelson! it took 60,000 to secure a victory over 40,000 at Shiloh; and 120,000 to force a retreat of 65,000 after a month's fighting at Corinth; and 100,000 were repelled by 80,000 in the first Peninsular Campaign against Richmond; it took 90,000 men to barely stand the assault of 70,000 at Gettysburg; and 115,000 sustained a frightful repulse from 60,000 at Fredericksburg; 100,000 were defeated by 50,000 at Chancellorsville; 85,000 were held in check two days by 40,000 at Antietam; and 120,000 men could only overcome 60,000 exhausted men after a hard year's struggle in Virginia."

FIFTH PEACE EFFORT

In the spring of 1864 President Davis, anxious for peace, sent a commission of three, composed of Clement C. Clay of Alabama, James P. Holcombe of Virginia, and Jacob Thompson of Mississippi, to plan to meet influential men of the North and through their influence to bring about a sentiment for peace. He felt it absolutely unnecessary to try to approach those in authority in Federal government. That had already been tried without success. The plan was now to negotiate with men who could be relied upon to facilitate the attainment of peace.

These commissioners sailed from Wilmington, N. C., to Canada. They got in touch by correspondence with Horace Greeley, and asked that he plan a safe conduct to Washington for an interview with President Lincoln.

At first Mr. Lincoln seemed to favor an interview but finally rejected it as he said they had no authority to treat for peace, so this message was sent to them, that the only basis that could be agreed upon was "The restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery." This basis of negotiation made peace of course impossible.

President Davis was always found ready for peace upon any terms consistent with the honor of his country.

SIXTH EFFORT FOR PEACE—HAMPTON ROADS CONFERENCE

Now in regard to a last attempt at peace. Francis P. Blair requested President Lincoln, December 28, 1864, to allow him to go through the lines to Richmond to confer with President Davis in regard to peace negotiations. He was very anxious for peace between the North and South so that attention should be called to Mexico. President Lincoln granted the request, with no authority to speak or act for the government.

Mr. Blair returned and carried this report from President Davis which was communicated to him by a personal letter from Mr. Davis:

"I have no disposition to find obstacles in forms, and am willing now, *as heretofore*, to enter into negotiations for the restoration of peace. I am ready to send a commission whenever I have reason to suppose it will be received, and *renew the effort* to enter into a conference with a view to secure *peace to the two countries*."

Mr. Lincoln asked Mr. Blair to reply that he was ready to receive any agent or influential person that Mr. Davis would informally send him, with a view of securing *peace to the people of our common country*.

Messrs. Alexander Stephens of Georgia, R. M. T. Hunter of Virginia, and J. A. Campbell of Alabama, were sent, but Abraham Lincoln would not allow them to come to Washington City, for that would be to acknowledge the Confederate States as another nation. President Davis noticed that he had said in his reply to him, "*peace to the people of our common country*." How did he reconcile the blockade?

The message came that Mr. Seward would meet them at Fortress Monroe, Va., and he instructed Mr. Seward what to say in a most explicit way. "You will make it known to them that three things are indispensable to-wit:

"First. The restoration of the national authority throughout the states; second, no receding by the Executive of the United States on the slavery question; third, no cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war, and the disbanding of all the forces hostile to the government.

"You will inform them that all propositions of theirs not inconsistent with the above will be considered and passed upon in a spirit of sincere liberality. Do not assume to consummate anything."

Then Mr. Lincoln telegraphed to Gen. Grant: "Let nothing hinder or delay your military plans."

When Gen. Grant learned that President Lincoln would not see the members of the commission he telegraphed Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War, that he was convinced from a conversation with these

gentlemen that they are sincere in their expressed desire to have peace and union restored, and that the action of the President had placed him in a very awkward position, and he was very sorry that Mr. Lincoln would not have an interview with Mr. Stephens and Mr. Hunter.

When Mr. Stanton repeated this telegram to the President he wired Seward that he would meet him at Fortress Monroe.

Below is President Lincoln's authorized report and should show conclusively that the much talked of "Let me write Union at the top of the page and you may write below it whatever else you please," is without foundation of truth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S *Message to the House*, Feb. 10, 1865:

"On the morning of the 3rd the gentlemen, Messrs. Stephens, Hunter and Campbell came aboard of our steamer and had an interview with the Secretary of State and myself of several hours duration. No question of preliminaries to the meeting was then and there made or mentioned. No other person was present. No papers were exchanged or produced, and it was in advance agreed that the conversation was to be informal and verbal merely. On my part the whole substance of the instructions to the Secretary of State, hereinbefore recited was stated and insisted upon, and nothing was stated inconsistent therewith, while, by the other party it was not said that in any event or on any condition they ever would consent to reunion; and yet they equally omitted to declare that they would never so consent. They seemed to desire a postponement of that question and the adoption of some other course first, which as some of them seem to argue, might or might not lead to reunion, but which course we thought would amount to an indefinite postponement. The conference ended without result."

"The foregoing, containing, as is believed, all the information sought, is respectfully submitted." (Abraham Lincoln, *Messages and Papers*, p. 260).

If there were any two people who knew whether it was said or not, those two people were Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stephens, and while there is no statement to that effect from either, there are decided and repeated statements from both that nothing took place at that conference beyond that recorded in the published statements of both. These published statements sworn to by both may be found in "*The Messages and Papers of the President of the Confederate States*," vol. I., pp. 518-525.

And in "*War Between the States*" by Alexander Stephens, Vol. II., pp. 599-619, Mr. Stephens concludes, "This is as full and accurate an account as I can give from beginning to end," and there was no reason why Mr. Stephens should not then and there have verified the statement that others said he made, had it been true.

Owing to conflicting reports in regard to this very statement appearing in the Louisville *Democrat* and New York *Herald*, the House of Representatives passed a resolution requesting President Lincoln to give the true account of that Hampton Roads Conference.

Mr. Lincoln had a marvelous opportunity when he sent his answer to Congress to glorify himself by stating that this offer, as Mr. Waterson and others say, was made—but he not only does not say that it was made, but says distinctly that it was not, for he says, “*Nothing was said inconsistent with what has already been recited*, and it was agreed beforehand that the conversation was to be informal and verbal only;” “no papers were exchanged or produced;” “no other persons than Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Seward, Messrs. Stephens, Hunter and Campbell were present;” the foregoing contains *all* the information sought, and this signed by him as President of the United States.

If Mr. Lincoln said it, why be ashamed to own it?

If Mr. Stephens said it, why indignant that the newspaper correspondents said he did?

I defy any one to produce a statement in writing from either of these men that such a statement was made at the Hampton Roads Conference.

Extract from letter to Secretary Seward from Alexander H. Stephens, July 25th, 1865:

“The truth in that article from *Chronicle and Sentinel* are so stated as to make a very erroneous impression on several points. I felt much annoyed at the publication and I desired to have it denied in the papers that I had any knowledge of it. That I could not do so then, I avail myself of this opportunity to make denial to you.

“Upon the subject of that conference, I made no report for the public but that which was joint with the other commissioners, and which was published in the Richmond papers. Upon the main points in that conference, those upon which it was sought, I have not even *in private* made any statement that could not reach the public.”

August 5th:

“An editorial in the London *Times* states that Vice-President Stephens had written a very ingenious letter, to say the least of it, about the Hampton Roads Conference. I suppose this alludes to the *Chronicle and Sentinel* publication. Thus it is with a man's character, a lie gets out: it is never headed off. Thus men form their opinions.”*

Mr. Stephens said that he had not felt at liberty to disclose to the public what transpired at that Hampton Roads Conference, for that

*I made several efforts to secure a copy of that letter from the file of papers in The Congressional Library, but failed, as it was reported that that page had been torn out and possibly destroyed.

was the understanding between both parties, but the surrender released him from that obligation, and his full and accurate account of what really did transpire and all that transpired can be found in "*The Constitutional View of the War Between the States*," Vol. II., pp. 791-805, pp. 589-625.

DR. CHARLES DEADRICK, of Knoxville, Tenn., gives concisely in *The Confederate Veteran* the conversation between Mr. Lincoln and the commissioners, taken from Mr. Stephens' book:

"On page 559, Volume II., Mr. Stephens said, in opening the conference at Hampton Roads: 'Mr. President, is there no way of putting an end to the present trouble?'. . . .

"Mr. Lincoln replied that there was but one way that he knew of, and that was for those who were resisting the laws of the Union to cease that resistance. . . . The restoration of the Union is a *sine qua non* with me,' etc. (See page 601).

"Judge Campbell now renewed his inquiry as to how restoration was to take place. (Page 609).

"Mr. Lincoln replied: 'By disbanding their armies and permitting the national authorities to resume their functions.' " (Page 609). "Mr. Lincoln further declared that he never would change or modify the terms of the emancipation proclamation in the slightest degree." (Page 611).

" 'After some four hours' discussion, Mr. Hunter said that in his opinion Mr. Lincoln's propositions amounted to nothing but unconditional surrender on the part of the Confederates. There could be no treaty nor even any stipulation as to terms—only unconditional submission.' " (Page 616).

" 'Mr. Lincoln said he believed the people of the North were as responsible for slavery as the people of the South, and if the war should then cease, with the voluntary abolition of slavery by the states, he should be in favor, individually, of the government paying a fair indemnity for the loss to the owners. . . . But on this subject he said he could give no assurance—enter into no stipulation.' " (Page 617).

"On pages 622, 623 Mr. Stephens, after his return to Richmond and reported to Mr. Davis: 'Mr. Davis' position was that inasmuch as it was now settled beyond question by the decided and pointed declaration of Mr. Lincoln that there could be no peace short of unconditional submission on the part of the Confederate States, . . . he himself seemed more determined than ever to fight it out on that line.'

"The above extracts from Mr. Stephens's admirable work show positively that Mr. Lincoln would agree to nothing but *unconditional surrender*; and that there is no foundation whatever in fact for the statement that Mr. Lincoln said, 'Agree to come back into the Union, and you can have what else you please,' nor for the assertion that Mr. Lincoln agreed that his government would pay for the slaves. He did say that *individually* he was in favor of paying for them, but distinctly stated that he did not know that his government would agree to it. It is said to be a

fact that he afterwards brought the matter before his Cabinet, and that no member of it agreed with him."

I can only quote sufficient to show by Abraham Lincoln's testimony that this was all that did transpire, and from Alexander Stephens' testimony that *it was all*—then how valueless becomes any other testimony to the contrary.—Stephens' testimony.

The interview took place in the Saloon of the Steamer on board of which were Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward. The commissioners were conducted into the Saloon *first*. Soon after Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward entered. The conversation which followed is given explicitly on pp. 599-618. The two parties then took formal and friendly leave of each other—Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward withdrawing *first*. Col. Babcock, our escort, soon came in to conduct us back to the steamer on which we came. During the interview, no person entered the Saloon besides the parties named except a colored servant or steward who came to bring in water, cigars and other refreshments.

This is a full and accurate account of the origin, the objects, and conduct of this Conference from its beginning to its end.

When the Commissioners returned to Richmond everybody was disappointed and no one more so than President Davis. He felt that Mr. Lincoln had acted in bad faith in the matter and attributed it to the recent news of the fall of Fort Fisher, one of the greatest disasters which had befallen the cause since the beginning of the war.

General Julian Carr has written the fullest and most comprehensive account of the Hampton Roads Conference that has yet been written.

PEACE EFFORTS—WHY FAILURE?

Enough has already been said to convince any unprejudiced person that the South wished peace; the North wished peace, but Abraham Lincoln wished war, for he had promised war to Medill and other of his constituents who voted for him and war had to be forced.

MEDILL, of the *Chicago Tribune*, says:

"In 1864 when the call for extra troops came Chicago revolted. Chicago had sent 22,000 and was drained. There were no young men to go, no aliens, except what was already bought. The citizens held a mass meeting and appointed three men of whom I (Medill) was one to go to Washington and ask Stanton to give Cook County a new enrollment. He refused. Then we went to President Lincoln. 'I cannot do it,' said Lincoln, 'but I will go with you to Stanton and hear the arguments on both sides.'

"So we went over to the War Department together. Stanton and General Frye were there and they both contended that the quota should not be changed. The argument went on for some time, and was finally referred to Lincoln who had been silently listening. When appealed to, Lincoln turned to us with a black and frowning face: 'Gentlemen,' he said, with a voice full of

bitterness, 'after Boston, Chicago has been the chief instrument in bringing this war on the country. The Northwest opposed the South and New England opposed the South. It is you, Medill, who is largely responsible for making blood flow as it has. *You called for war until you had it. I have given it to you.* What you have asked for you have had. Now you come here begging to be left off from the call for more men, which I have made to carry on the war you demanded. You ought to be ashamed of yourselves. Go home and raise your 6,000 men.' (TARBELL'S *Life of Lincoln*," Vol. II., p. 144.

There is no doubt that peace could have been made at any time Mr. Lincoln had willed it, and history proves this by authenticated facts.

THE PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTION OF THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT

President Davis, in his *"Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government,"* in chapter x., p. 258, says:

"The Provisional Constitution although prepared only for temporary use, and necessarily in some haste, was so well adapted for the purpose which it was intended to serve, that many thought it would have been wise to continue it in force indefinitely, or at least until the independency of the Confederacy should be assured.

"The Congress, however, deeming it best that the system of government should emanate from the people, accordingly prepared the Permanent Constitution," which was adopted March 11, 1861. (Howell Cobb was President of Permanent Congress, 1st Session).

Both of these Constitutions are very similar and both very much like the United States Constitution.

The *Permanent Constitution* compared with the United States Constitution may be found in Appendix K. in *"Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government."*

The original draft of the *Provisional Constitution* may be found in the University of Georgia Library, and two of the gold pens used by two signers, Howell Cobb and Thomas R. R. Cobb, may also be seen in Athens, Georgia.

THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA

At a Congress of the sovereign and independent States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, begun and holden at the Capitol in Montgomery, in the State of Alabama, on the fourth day of February, in the year of our Lord, One Thousand, Eight Hundred and Sixty-one; and thence continued, by divers adjournments, until the eighth day of February in the same year;

CONSTITUTION
—for the—
PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT
—of the—
CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA

We, the Deputies of the Sovereign and Independent States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, invoking the favor of Almighty God, do hereby, in behalf of these States, ordain and establish this Constitution for the Provisional Government of the same; to continue one year from the inauguration of the President, or until a permanent Constitution or Confederation between the said States shall be put in operation, whichever shall first occur.

ARTICLE ONE. SECTION ONE.—All legislative powers herein delegated shall be vested in this Congress now assembled, until otherwise ordained.

SECTION TWO.—When vacancies happen in the representations from any State, the same shall be filled in such manner as the proper authorities of the State shall direct.

SECTION THREE.—1.—The Congress shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of the members; any number of Deputies from a majority of the States being present, shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members; upon all questions before the Congress, each State shall be entitled to one vote, and shall be represented by any one or more of its Deputies who may be present.

2.—The Congress may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds expel a member.

3.—The Congress shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members on any question, shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, or at the instance of any one State, be entered on the journal.

SECTION FOUR.—The members of Congress shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the Confederacy. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of the Congress, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

SECTION FIVE.—1.—Every bill which shall have passed the Congress, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the Confederacy; if he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it with his objections, to the Congress, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of the Congress shall agree to pass the bill, it shall become a law. But in all such cases, the vote shall be determined by yeas and nays and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law. The President may veto any appropriation or appropriations and approve any other appropriation or appropriations, in the same bill.

2.—Every order, resolution or vote, intended to have the force and effect of a law, shall be presented to the President, and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Congress, according to the rules and limitations presented in the case of a bill.

3.—Until the inauguration of the President, all bills, orders, resolutions and votes adopted by the Congress shall be of full force without approval by him.

SECTION SIX.—1.—The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, for the revenue necessary to pay the debts and carry on the Government of the Confederacy.

2.—To borrow money on the credit of the Confederacy.

3.—To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4.—To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the Confederacy;

5.—To coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measurements;

6.—To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the Confederacy;

7.—To establish post offices and post roads;

8.—To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9.—To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court;

10.—To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

11.—To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12.—To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13.—To provide and maintain a navy;

14.—To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15.—To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Confederacy, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

16.—To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the Confederacy, reserving to the State respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17.—To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers expressly delegated by this Constitution to this Provisional Government;

18.—The Congress shall have power to admit other states;

19.—This Congress shall also exercise Executive powers, until the President is inaugurated.

SECTION SEVEN.—1.—The importation of African negroes from any foreign country other than the slave-holding States of the United States, is hereby forbidden; and Congress are required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same.

2.—The Congress shall also have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of this Confederacy.

3.—The privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended unless, when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

4.—No Bill of Attainder, or ex post facto law, shall be passed.

5.—No preference shall be given, by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties, in another.

6.—No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and accounting of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from the treasury, unless it be asked and estimated for by the President or some one of the heads of Departments, except for the purpose of paying its own expenses and contingencies.

8.—No title of nobility shall be granted by the Confederacy; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under it, shall, without the

consent of the Congress, except of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind, whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

9.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of such grievances as the delegated powers of this Government may warrant it to consider and redress.

10.—A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

11.—No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

12.—The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

13.—No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

14.—In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

15.—In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the Confederacy, than according to the rules of the common law.

16.—Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed; nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

17.—The enumeration, in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

18.—The powers not delegated to the Confederacy by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

19.—The judicial power of the Confederacy shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the States of the Confederacy, by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

SECTION EIGHT.—1.—No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

2.—No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the Confederacy, and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE TWO. SECTION ONE.—1.—The Executive power shall be vested in a President of the Confederate States of America. He, together with the Vice-President, shall hold his office for one year, or until this Provisional Government shall be superseded by a Permanent Government, whichever shall first occur.

2.—The President and Vice-President shall be elected by ballot by the States represented in this Congress, each State casting one vote; and a majority of the whole being requisite to elect.

3.—No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of one of the States of this Confederacy at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years and been fourteen years a resident of one of the States of this Confederacy.

4.—In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office (which inability shall be determined by a vote of two-thirds of the Congress), the same shall devolve on the Vice-President; and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President; and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

5.—The President shall at stated times receive for his services during the period of the Provisional Government, a compensation at the rate of twenty-five thousand dollars per annum; and he shall not receive during that period any other emolument from this Confederacy, or any of the States thereof.

6.—Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath: I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the Confederate States of America, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution thereof.

SECTION TWO.—1.—The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the Confederacy, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the Confederacy; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the Executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective officers; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the Confederacy, except in cases of impeachment.

2.—He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Congress, to make treaties; provided two-thirds of the Congress concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Congress shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the court, and all other officers of the Confederacy whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the Congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3.—The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Congress, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION THREE.—1.—He shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Confederacy, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene the Congress at such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and shall commission all the officers of the Confederacy.

2.—The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the Confederacy shall be removed from office on conviction by the Congress of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors; a vote of two-thirds shall be necessary for such conviction.

ARTICLE THREE. SECTION ONE.—1.—The judicial power of the Confederacy shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior

courts as are herein directed or as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish.

2.—Each State shall constitute a District in which there shall be a court called a DISTRICT COURT, which, until otherwise provided by the Congress, shall have the jurisdiction vested by the laws of the United States, as far as applicable, in both the District and Circuit Courts of the United States, for that State; the Judge whereof shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Congress, and shall, until otherwise provided by the Congress, exercise the power and authority vested by the laws of the United States in the Judges of the District and Circuit Courts of the United States, for that State, and shall appoint the times and places at which the courts shall be held. Appeals may be taken directly from the District Courts to the Supreme Court, under similar regulations to those which are provided in cases of appeal to the Supreme Court, under similar regulations to those which are provided in cases of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, or under such regulations as may be provided by the Congress. The commissions of all the judges shall expire with this Provisional Government.

3.—The Supreme Court shall be constituted of all the District Judges, a majority of whom shall be a quorum, and shall sit at such times and places as the Congress shall appoint. The Congress shall have the power to make laws for the transfer of any causes which were pending in the courts of the United States, to the courts of the Confederacy, and for the execution of the orders, decrees, and judgments heretofore rendered by the said courts of the United States; and also all laws which may be requisite to protect the parties to all such suits, orders, judgments, or decrees, their heirs, personal representatives or assignees.

SECTION TWO.—1.—The judicial power shall extend to all cases of law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and of this Confederacy, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under its authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the Confederacy shall be a party; controversies between two or more States; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States.

2.—In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3.—The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION THREE.—1.—Treason against this Confederacy shall consist only in levying war against it, or in adhering to its enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2.—The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE FOUR.. SECTION ONE.—1.—Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved and the effect of such proof.

SECTION TWO.—1.—The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2.—A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3.—A slave in one State, escaping to another, shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom said slave may belong by the Executive authority of the State in which such slave shall be found, and in case of any abduction or forcible rescue, full compensation, including the value of the slave and all costs and expenses shall be made to the party, by the State in which such abduction or rescue shall take place.

SECTION THREE.—1.—The Confederacy shall guarantee to every State in this union, a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature, or of the Executive, (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE FIVE. SECTION ONE.—1.1—The Congress, by a vote of two-thirds, may, at any time, alter or amend this Constitution.

ARTICLE SIX. SECTION ONE.—1.1—This Constitution, and the laws of the Confederacy which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the Confederacy, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby; any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

2.—The Government hereby instituted shall take immediate steps for the settlement of all matters between the States forming it, and their other late confederates of the United States in relation to the public property and public debt at the time of their withdrawal from them; these States hereby declaring it to be their wish and earnest desire to adjust every thing pertaining to the common property, common liability, and common obligations of that union, upon the principles of right, justice, equity, and good faith.

3.—Until otherwise provided by the Congress, the city of Montgomery, in the State of Alabama, shall be the seat of Government.

4.—The members of the Congress and all executive and judicial officers of the Confederacy shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under this Confederacy.

Done in the Congress, by the unanimous consent of all the said States, the Eighth day of February, in the year of Our Lord, One Thousand, Eight Hundred and Sixty-One; and of the Confederate States of America, the first. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

The Provisional Constitution was adopted Feb. 8, 1861. It was signed by Howell Cobb as President of the Provisional Congress, and J. J. Hooper, of Alabama, Secretary. Then followed the signatures of all the delegates from the different states.

SIGNERS

South Carolina

R. Barnwell Rhett, R. W. Barnwell, James Chestnutt, Jr., C. G. Memminger, Wm. Porcher Miles, Lawrence M. Keitt, William W. Boyce, Thos. J. Withers.

Alabama

Richard W. Walker, Robt. H. Smith, Colin J. McRae, McGill Shorter, William Paris Chilton, Stephen F. Hale, David P. Lewis, Tho. Fearn, J. L. M. Curry.

Mississippi

W. P. Harris, Alex. M. Clayton, W. S. Wilson, James T. Harrison, Walker Brooke, William S. Barry, J. A. P. Campbell.

Florida

Jackson Morton, Jas. B. Owens, J. Patton Anderson.

Georgia

R. Toombs, Francis Bartow, Martin J. Crawford, E. A. Nisbet, Benjamin H. Hill, Augustus R. Wright, Thos. R. R. Cobb, A. H. Kenan, Alexander H. Stephens.

Louisiana

John Perkins, Jr., Alex de Clouet, C. M. Conrad, Duncan F. Kenner,
Edward Sparrow, Henry Marshall.

Texas

Thomas N. Ward, Williamson S. Oldham, John Gregg, John H. Reagan,
W. B. Ochiltree, John Hemphill, Louis T. Wigfall.

THE SOUTH'S NATURAL WONDERS

The only Stone Mountain in the world is in Georgia—7 miles in circumference, and is to be carved by Gutzon Borglum to vindicate the South.

“The Father of Waters,” the Mississippi, is in the South.

The largest cave in the world is Mammoth Cave, Kentucky.

The only Natural Bridge is in Virginia.

The bottomless spring is the Blue Spring in Florida.

The Okefinokee Swamp is in Georgia.

The hottest springs in the world—Hot Springs, Arkansas.

The largest spring in the world—Mammoth Spring, Arkansas.

The largest bauxite field in the world—Bauxite, Arkansas.

The greatest Natural Dam in the world—Hale's Bar, Tennessee.

Largest Artesian plant in the world—Tennessee.

THE SOUTH FIRST IN PHILANTHROPY.

First to have an Orphan Asylum—Georgia.

First to have an Insane Asylum—Virginia.

First to have a Deaf and Dumb Asylum—Virginia.

First to have a Sunday School—Georgia, John Wesley.

First to have a Hospital—Virginia.

First to have a School for Indians—Virginia.

First to have an Indian Alphabet—Georgia.

First to have a Negro Sunday School—Georgia.

First to have a negro preacher—Georgia.

First Protestant Church building in the New World—Jamestown, Virginia.

First Thanksgiving Service—Jamestown, 1610.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Who presented resolutions looking to peace?
2. What was the Crittenden Compromise?
3. Was it just to the South?
4. Why did the Southern delegates express willingness to accept them?
5. What caused the failure to pass?
6. What second effort was made for peace?
7. Why did that effort fail?
8. Why were the commissioners sent from Confederate Government?

9. How treated and cause of failure?
10. What was the fourth effort made?
11. What balked that and caused failure?
12. What effort was next made? Why failure?
13. What was the last effort made? Who suggested it? Why?
14. What misrepresentation was made regarding this conference?
15. What proof against it?
16. Who must be held responsible for every failure to make peace?
17. What delegates from the South favored the Crittenden Compromise if it would bring peace?
18. When was the Provisional Constitution adopted?
19. Why was it thought necessary to change?
20. When was Permanent Constitution adopted? Where can a copy of it be found?

TWENTY ADDITIONAL BOOKS FOR A SOUTHERN LIBRARY

Scrap Book, Vol. I.

Scrap Book, Vol. II.

Scrap Book, Vol. III.

Representative Authors of Maryland—Henry E. Shepherd.

Jefferson Davis: His Life and Personality—Morris Schaff, of Boston, Mass.

The Creed of the Old South—Dr. Basil L. Gildersleeve.

Religion and Slavery—Dr. James McNeilly.

The Abolition Crusade—Hillary Herbert.

Propaganda in History—Dr. Lyon G. Tyler.

Poems—Francis Orray Tichenor.

The Gray Book—Sons of Veterans.

Is Davis a Traitor?—Dr. Bledsoe.

Life of Judge Campbell—Judge Connor.

BOOKS FOR CHILDREN

The Standard Bearer—A. C. Whitehead.

Life of N. B. Forrest—Dr. H. J. Eckenrode.

Revolutionary Reader—Sophie Foster.

Boy Soldiers of the Confederacy—Susan R. Hull.

Beyond Rope and Fence—David Grew, Boni and Liveright.

Fairy Stories by Madge Bigham, Atlanta, Ga.—

Stories of Mother Goose Village.

More Stories of Mother Goose Village.

The Story of a Little Boy in a Big World.

Overheard in Fairyland.

CORRECTIONS AND OMISSIONS

Vol. II., p. 21—*Histories Commended*—Eleanor Riggs—American History.

Vol. III., p. 18—*The Life of Lieut.-Gen. Richard Anderson*—C. Irvine Walker, Mt. Pleasant, S. C.

NOO-NAME COFFEE



THE TREE THAT OWNS ITSELF
ATHENS, GA.

"THE VALUE IS IN THE
COFFEE"

A Delicious High Grade Coffee

Scott T & Coffee Co.

Athens, Georgia

A wonderful blend of Coffee. Very like the Mocha and Java
"before the war days."—M. Rutherford.

JONES DAIRY FARM SAUSAGE

Fresh shipments to Arnold & Abney, Athens, Ga., regularly.
These are fine; I have tried them.

M. RUTHERFORD.

BOOKS OF VITAL INTEREST TO LIVE READERS

STORIES OF SOUTH AMERICA

Dr. E. C. Brooks

Vivid pictures of the hero-lives and lands of our sister continent.

TOLD IN STORY

Dr. H. J. Eckenrode

A novel and fascinating relation of American history.

THE YOUNG AMERICAN CITIZEN

Binford and Graff

Civics told for young and old. A book that should be in every
school, library and suffrage league in America.

STORIES OF YESTERDAY FOR CHILDREN OF TODAY.

Half Hours in Southern History-----Dr. J. Leslie Hall
(The South you knew.)

Soldier Life in the Army of Northern Virginia----Carlton McCarthy

FOR CHILDREN OF THE SOUTH

Life of Lee-----Mrs. M. L. Williamson

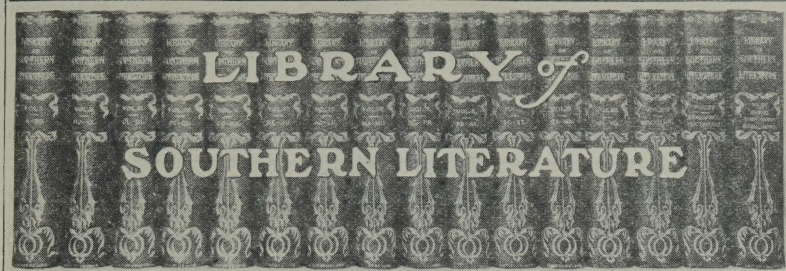
Life of Stonewall Jackson-----Mrs. M. L. Williamson

Life of Washington-----Mrs. M. L. Williamson

Life of J. E. B. Stuart-----Mrs. M. L. Williamson

Life of N. B. Forrest-----Dr. H. J. Eckenrode

**JOHNSON PUBLISHING CO., RICHMOND
VIRGINIA**



7,500 pages. Volume size 9 1/4 x 6 1/4.
250 Southern men collaborated in its compilation.

It has been endorsed more heartily and in stronger terms than found in testimonials given any other publication. As example see page 184, Minutes of the 28th Annual Convention, United Daughters of the Confederacy (St. Louis):

"Whereas, The United Daughters of the Confederacy, at its former National Conventions, have given endorsement by resolutions of the 'Library of Southern Literature,' compiled at the University of Virginia by associated Southern scholars, under direction of Southern men of letters, headed by Drs. Edwin A. Alderman, Chas. W. Kent, C. Alphonso Smith and others, and published by The Martin & Hoyt Company, Atlanta, Ga.; and

"Whereas, After more general use and thereby enhanced appreciation of its invaluable presentation of Southern ideals, literature and culture, discriminately gathered and scholarly edited, it seems most desirable that it should have as widespread distribution as possible in libraries, schools and homes of the United States and throughout the world.

"Therefore, Be it Resolved, That the United Daughters of the Confederacy do again highly endorse the 'Library of Southern Literature' as the most comprehensive publication for libraries, schools, homes and people everywhere who would know and include in American literature the writings and utterances of that section of the United States known as the South."

The Martin & Hoyt Company

PUBLISHERS

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Please mail prices, terms, etc., for Library of Southern Literature.

Name_____

Mailing Address_____

This is a wonderful library of books and a new volume is soon to be added. Buy them. M. RUTHERFORD.

For Sale

WHITE ROCK SPRING WATER

Will ship in large or small quantities. The best water ever discovered for Kidney and Bladder troubles. References given by those who have tried it.

WRITE FOR INFORMATION

ADDRESS

White Rock Spring Water Co.
LAKEMONT, GEORGIA
RABUN COUNTY

MISS RUTHERFORD'S BOOKS

The South in History and Literature-----	\$1.50
American Authors -----	1.50
The South in the Building of the Nation-----	.15
Thirteen Periods of U. S. History-----	.15
The Wrongs of History Righted-----	.15
The Sins of Omission and Commission-----	.15
Four Addresses as above, bound with picture }	.50
The South of Yesterday-----	
The Civilization of the Old South-----	.15
Truths of History-----	.50
The True Story of Jamestown Colony-----	.25
Cotton is King-----	.25
Henry Wirz—Andersonville Prison-----	.25
Georgia: The Empire State-----	.10
Georgia Facts -----	.10
Memorial Day Banner-----	.25
Measuring Rod for Text Books-----	.15
Historical Programs U. D. C. & C. of C.-----	.10
Miss Rutherford's Scrap Book, each-----	.30
The South Must Have Her Rightful Place in History-----	.25

Address,
MISS M. RUTHERFORD,
Athens, Georgia.

"The South in the Building of the Nation"

A History of the Southern States

Designed to Record the South's Part in Making the American Nation; to Portray the Character and Genius, to Chronicle the Achievements and Progress and to Illustrate the LIFE AND TRADITIONS of the SOUTHERN PEOPLE.

The Only Accepted, Authentic
History of the South

I have 100 sets which I will sell at 40% less than the present market prices of similar books.

J. Standish Clark, Publisher

110 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk, Va.

If the South would realize the value of these books to the children in the home, there would not be left a home in the South without them.

Realizing that they would not be published any longer, I have asked that the sets still on hand be once more advertised. Do heed this opportunity to secure a set.

M. RUTHERFORD.

The Youree Historical Game of Southern Heroes

A Novel Way to Arouse an Interest

in Southern History and Literature by playing instructive games. The Youree Historical Game is a set of 52 illustrated cards having the U. D. C. emblem in centre of back in a pretty box. These games can be had from Mrs. Maude Hearn-O'Pry, 809 Margaret Place, Shreveport, Louisiana.

ORDERS FILLED AT ONCE.

I have long desired to find time to arrange just these cards and rejoice that they have already been prepared. Send for a set for young and old. They are fine! They are named for one of our most loyal U. D. C. women.

M. RUTHERFORD.

U. D. C. SUPPLIES

Punched paper by ream
7x9¹/₄ in.

Ga. Div. U. D. C. His-
torical Work

Binders in Cloth to fit
paper

Paste in tubes--ready for
use

Scrap books for clippings

Scrap books for post cards

Scrap books for Kodak
pictures

Kodaks and Films

Fountain Pens

The McGregor Company **ATHENS
GEORGIA**